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The *curanderos*, on the other hand, are prejudicial to the health of the people and are a definite impediment to the realization of national health programs. In view of our brief example, no blanket statements can be made; each institution must be examined in the light of its social function in the community.

The new occupations in Tepoztlán consist of the millers, chauffeurs, bus line

Fig. 19. A corn mill.

employees, tile and brickmakers, and druggists.[9] In all there are 41 individuals who work in these occupations. All the men who work for the bus cooperatives are members or sons of members of the cooperatives. Such membership is a prerequisite for employment. Tile and brickmaking are technically not new occupations, since these trades were practiced on a small scale prior to the Revolution. During the years of the Revolution and the hard times which immediately followed, the trade lapsed. In 1934 it was revived and now is growing steadily. The tile and brick makers produce only for the needs of the village.

[9] The ropemakers and charcoal makers listed in Table 19 are occupations of long standing and were mentioned by Redfield, although an accurate comparison of the expansion in these occupations cannot be given here because Redfield did not state the number in 1926.

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423 665 578 separate interest groups, with the *ejidatarios* taking over, for private use, lands which have traditionally been worked by *tlacololeros*. The latter viewed with alarm this encroachment by the *ejido* authorities and formed an organization to defend their interests. This group is known as *comuneros*, in distinction to the *ejidatarios*, and has received official recognition as such by the Departamento Agrario. Each of these groups has become a political faction of weight in the village.

423 311 621 628 In theory any individual from any one of the eight villages of the municipio has the right to use the communal lands anywhere in the municipio, provided he obtains the permission of the municipal authorities, or, as at the present time, the forestry and *ejido* authorities. But in practice each of the eight villages has come to consider certain lands, generally those nearest the village, as its own. Thus, moral boundaries have developed and are today recognized by all concerned. For example, the people of the little village of Santo Domingo jealously guard "their monte" from use by other villagers, but especially from the inhabitants of San Juan, who depend heavily upon woodcutting to earn a living. Similarly, although all *texcal* lands are technically communal property, the villagers of Gabriel Mariaca have prevented Tepoztecans from opening *tlacolol* in "their *texcal*."

[631] In recent years, conflicts over the use of communal lands have set village against village within the municipio and have seriously weakened municipal bonds. The increasing exploitation of communal resources for commercial rather than for subsistence purposes, which was encouraged by the railroad and the highway, made for competition which did not exist before. This led to a demand of the outlying villages for sole rights of control of adjoining communal lands. In effect the villages were demanding that the moral boundaries be accepted as legal boundaries, thereby interpreting the communal lands as village rather than municipio lands. [631]

423 631 628 578 314 474 [439] [648] One of the first serious difficulties between the villages of the municipio began in the early twenties when the village of San Juan—taking advantage of the proximity of the railroad which ran through the village, and because of its very limited agricultural resources—began to develop the charcoal industry on a commercial scale and to export large quantities of charcoal to Mexico City. In 1926 the villagers of San Juan organized a forestry cooperative to meet the requirements of the national forestry law of the same year. The authorities of Tepoztlán at once challenged the right of the inhabitants of San Juan to exploit municipal resources for the exclusive benefit of a single village. The people of San Juan disregarded the prohibitions of the local authorities and appealed their case directly to the national government. The dispute was bitter and led to some violence. It was finally settled by the intervention of federal authorities, who ruled in favor of the municipio.

In March, 1930, the village of Tepoztlán then organized another cooperative—this time in the name of the municipio and theoretically open to all, but actually controlled by Tepoztecans—and continued to produce charcoal on a large scale. Government files for the next five years are full of complaints from the surrounding villages of the municipio to the effect that the Forestry Cooperative was not truly a municipal organization, but was dominated by the village of Tepoztlán in the in-

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terests of a small clique within that village. The schisms created by this cooperative within the village and the municipio will be treated later in this study.

These facts indicate the strong individualism of the villagers, and the interesting way in which new contacts with the outside and production for the market have disrupted the earlier stability of the municipio. As long as production of charcoal was primarily for household use, there seemed to be no conflict between collective ownership and individual exploitation of the resources. As a matter of fact, the communal lands have been one of the few unifying factors in the life of the municipio and have brought the villagers together to defend their lands in the face of threats from the outside. However, with commercial exploitation of the limited communal resources, competition became intense, and the concept of communal land ownership by the municipio was attacked.

PRIVATE HOLDINGS

As we have indicated earlier, private landholdings include most of the lands for plow agriculture; that is, most of the level lands. The only other privately owned lands are the house sites in the village, most of which include some ground for a garden and for some corn plantings. The history of private landholdings is not very clear. Certainly we know that private holdings have existed at least since the time of the Conquest. Whether or not it existed in Tepoztlán before the Conquest cannot be determined, but, judging from the data for other parts of Mexico, it is probable that private holdings coexisted with other holdings. Much of the land that is now privately owned, approximately one hundred hectares of the most productive lands of the municipio, once belonged to the church. This land was divided into private holdings after the Revolution of 1857. Most of the landowners now have some document to prove title; but there are still many individuals who work plots of land which have been passed down from family to family without any written proof of ownership.

The ownership of land is one of the basic aspirations of Tepoztecan peasants, and land-ownership is perhaps their most important single criterion of wealth. The value put on land-ownership is reflected, in part, by the fact that farmers, artisans, and merchants invest in land whenever they have the necessary capital and the opportunity. But there is no concentration of land-ownership in the hands of a few. There are several reasons for this. Few people in Tepoztlán will sell tillable land, and when they do they prefer to sell to close relatives. On the whole there is little land turnover. Tepoztecans with sufficient capital to purchase large quantities of land do not do so, because they seek more profitable kinds of investments, generally in cattle. The high cost of labor and the low and uneven yields in plow agriculture make corn production for commercial purposes unprofitable.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIVATE HOLDINGS

According to our findings, only 36 per cent or 311 of the 853 families in the village own private land. Thus, in a village where the family ideal is to own a plot

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with cattle brought in from Guerrero in the belief that the animal would forget its past home.

Milk products are used for medicinal purposes. Whey, cheese, and butter are used for skin rashes, and cheese is used as a poultice for snake bites. Some families use, as a purgative, milk in which a cow's tail has been soaked. Pig's fat is commonly used as a salve for inflammations.

CHARCOAL

The production of charcoal by the burning of oak and other woods is one of the most important sources of income for many Tepoztecan families, but primarily for the poor. Charcoal production demands very little capital and few tools; it utilizes the communal forest resources; it serves as a convenient source of income for the landless peasants and as a supplementary source of income for those engaged in agriculture. As a rule, charcoal production is carried on as a part-time activity by farmers during the slack season. But in the smaller barrios of San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastián, about fifteen individuals engage in charcoal production as a full-time occupation.

Charcoal production has risen and fallen at different times in recent Tepoztecan history. Charcoal production on a large scale began shortly after the Revolution, when Tepoztecans returned to the village from their enforced exile. Desperately poor and with all their animals killed off, they eagerly turned to charcoal as salvation. This development was encouraged and organized by a provisional president of the municipio, Jesús Monroy, who was imposed by the state authorities in 1919 shortly after peace was established in the village. Monroy called a meeting of Tepoztecans and organized workers into brigades of charcoal burners. As a result, a large portion of the forests of Tepoztlán was practically denuded, and there arose in the village a cleavage between those who wished to conserve the forest resources and those who cut the trees for charcoal.

During the late twenties, Tepoztlán organized a forestry cooperative, the first in the state of Morelos, and large-scale production began again. Conflict ensued and the cooperative ceased to exist in 1937. Since that time, charcoal production has continued on an individual basis. Data on charcoal production in the municipio are available for the years 1934–42. (See Table 41.) During this period 3,921,518 pounds of charcoal were produced. These figures are in all probability lower than the actual amount, for much charcoal is produced secretly in violation of federal forestry regulations.

The tools used in charcoal production are an ax, a shovel, a pickax, and a machete. Charcoal workers generally leave the village for the mountains in the early morning, going alone or in groups of two or three friends or relatives. It is not customary to hire workers in this occupation, because most workers want to come home at the end of the day, and charcoal burning necessitates staying out for a few days at a time. To make charcoal, oak and sometimes pine trees are felled, cut up into logs a few feet long, and piled upright to form a charcoal oven or

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314 kiln. (See Fig. 31.) The kiln is then covered with earth on all sides, except for a small opening which is left for a draft of air to enter, so that the fire can be kept

Fig. 31. A charcoal kiln.

smouldering. The kiln is then lighted and allowed to smoulder for anywhere from 24 to 48 hours, depending upon the size of the wood pile. The worker must continuously be on the watch to prevent too much air from fanning the fire, and thus burning the wood rather than producing charcoal. So it is necessary for the charcoal burner to sleep out in the forest for one, two, or three nights.

314 433 [461] The following estimate of the production time, cost, and yield was obtained from a charcoal burner, and gives us some insight into the economics of this

TABLE 41. Charcoal Production, 1934–1942.*

Years	Vegetable Carbon (in Kilos)
1934	1,209,430
1935	137,400
1936	264,500
1937	955,060
1938	475,400
1939	426,570
1940	—
1941	221,119
1942	232,039
Total	3,921,518

[474] [578]

*The sharp decline after 1934 reflects the falling off in production following the killing of the forestry cooperative leader, Juan Hidalgo. Slowly production increased until 1937, when the cooperative was disbanded. Since that time there has been a marked diminution in production.

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665 185 175 zation." It had two major projects: first, the building of a road to join the village to Cuernavaca, and second, the preservation of the forests. The road building project tended to unite the village temporarily although opposition to the idea was not lacking, especially from owners of mules who feared the road would hurt their business. But the Fraternales were less successful in their attempt to preserve the forests.

175 474 314 [665] [127] In 1930, Tepoztecans organized the Cooperativa Forestal Central de Tepoztlán for the purpose of producing charcoal. The story of this cooperative deserves to be told in detail, because it reflects so clearly the schisms and conflicting interests in the village. The story given here was obtained from leaders of the cooperative and leaders of the opposition group, the Fraternales. In addition, documents and reports concerning the cooperative were obtained from the Departamento Forestal in Mexico City.

Tepoztecans and inhabitants of the other villages of the municipio of Tepoztlán had traditionally relied upon the forest resources for their firewood and charcoal, and a handful of Tepoztecans had specialized in the making of charcoal which was sold locally. The forest resources constituted an important part of the subsistence economy. While the sale of wood outside of the village occurred, for example to the Hacienda of Oacalco, it was never on a large scale. For such enterprises [656] Tepoztecans were required to obtain a permit from the municipal authorities for 50 centavos a week.

In the early twenties the village of San Juan, taking advantage of its proximity to the railroad which runs through the village, and because of its limited agricultural resources, began to develop the charcoal industry on a commercial scale and exported large quantities of charcoal to Mexico City. In 1926 the villagers organized a forestry cooperative to meet the requirements of the national forestry law of 1926.[38] This was the first cooperative in the state of Morelos.

The authorities of Tepoztlán challenged the right of the village of San Juan to cut large numbers of trees from forests which were municipal rather than village property, and the residents of San Juan were prohibited from cutting trees. But they appealed their case directly to the national authorities, maintaining that the mountains in question were village property. The dispute was bitter and accompanied [648] by some violence. It was finally settled by the intervention of federal authorities who ruled that the municipio had legal title to the land in question. In March, 1930, Tepoztlán organized its own cooperative to which the villagers of San Juan were admitted.

Juan Hidalgo, a poor young man from the central barrio of Santo Domingo, became president of the cooperative. Under his leadership the cooperative grew and prospered. In a short while it had over five hundred members, ninety-five per cent

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[648] [38] This was Mexico's first serious attempt to legislate for the conservation of its forest resources. The law took control of forest resources out of the hands of local municipal authorities and provided that permission from the forestry authorities was necessary before any trees could be cut.

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of whom were Tepoztecans. The cooperative was organized according to a plan suggested by the authorities in Cuernavaca. It had a directive body consisting of a president, secretary, and treasurer. The cooperative bought the charcoal from its members at the price of thirty-five pesos a *tonelado*. But it deducted eight per cent for handling expenses, including payment of the tax to the forestry department, a salary for the secretary, and for office equipment.

The cooperative became a powerful force in the village, and entered into politics. Its president, Juan Hidalgo, was elected president of the municipio in 1933 and 1934. In this capacity, Hidalgo was able to use the funds of the cooperative for public works and thereby gained much popularity. Under Hidalgo's leadership the cooperative sponsored the repair of the municipal building, the construction of the few public toilets in the courthouse, the construction of a school in the barrio of Los Reyes, and one in the outlying villages of San Juan, Santiago, and Ocotitlán.

Juan Hidalgo became wealthy and powerful. An informant, sympathetic to Hidalgo, explained how this happened.

> In spite of the fact that Hidalgo began very poor he earned much money. He controlled the funds of the cooperative and made many loans to his friends and *compadres* in the village. He had in his hands the credit of the village, for anyone who needed a loan had to come to him. This way he became very powerful. In his hands was the economic fate of many. He could make them or break them.

Hidalgo had many enemies, especially the leaders of the former cooperative of the village of San Juan. In 1935 he was shot and killed. Informants blamed the killing on residents of San Juan. In the village itself the cooperative was fought by the Fraternales. But the prospects of an immediate income could not be resisted by the Tepoztecans, and the cooperative won out in the early years. After Hidalgo's death, however, the cooperative began to decline. The succeeding president was accused of financial irregularities and fled the village for his life. An investigator from the Departamento Agrario confirmed the accusation and charged all the officials with negligence. The major burden of blame fell on the president; and since he had fled, nothing could be done.

After the death of Hidalgo, the candidate of the Fraternales was elected president, and many difficulties were placed in the path of the cooperative. The president denounced the cooperative to the federal forest authorities for excessive and illegal cutting of trees. The authorities investigated and fined the cooperative and finally in 1937, the cooperative went into bankruptcy and was dissolved.

The political history of the village since the middle thirties is given in the following account, written for me by an informant who has been close to the local government throughout this period. His account gives the reader something of the local flavor of politics, with its buying of votes "by dint of a few glasses of pulque," the drunkenness and petty thievery of officials, and the bitterness between local political factions. His use of the term "Bolsheviki" in referring to the Fraternales reflects the identification of the two in the minds of many Tepoztecans.

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cause these innovations occurred within such a short period, their effects were mutually reenforcing and the tempo of change was accelerated. The road broke down the barriers of isolation and gave Tepoztlán easy access to new markets; the granting of *ejidos* supplied a somewhat broader land base, thereby increasing production; the corn mills improved the lot of the women and gave them free time which they could devote to commerce and other gainful occupations. The villagers obtained a new source of income from the sale of their *ciruelas* and other fruits which gained commercial value after the means of communication were improved. The road was also responsible for the tourist trade, more frequent social contacts with Cuernavaca, and indirectly the changes in clothing styles. The bus lines have affected village life in more ways than simply that of improving means of communication. They have become a new economic and political force in the village and a new source of conflict. Each line has built up a following of members who have a direct economic interest in their cooperative. The relatives and *compadres* of these members are also involved in the conflict, and the village is again divided into factions. Furthermore, the directors of the cooperatives are beginning to take political control out of the hands of the peasants. The employees of the bus cooperatives now constitute the first important group of non-farmers in Tepoztlán.

The school has been an extremely important agent of cultural change in the village in the past twenty years. As we have seen, enrollment soared from less than 100 in 1926 to over 700 in 1948. The school has increased literacy; has taught the children new standards of personal hygiene and cleanliness; has familiarized them with toilets, running water, and showers; has introduced new games and a spirit of group play lacking before. The school has become the symbol of the new in Tepoztlán; it has made for a greater identification with the nation. The school also has been a great socializing factor. It is breaking down barrio localism and is making for friendships between individuals in different parts of the village. The school has offered new outlets for emotional expression.

PATTERNS OF CHANGE

In the preceding pages we have focused primarily upon the changes which have occurred in each of the major periods considered. But there have also been stable elements which have persisted almost intact, not only during the past twenty years, but since the beginning of the colonial period. This is all the more striking because of the proximity of the village to Mexico City and Cuernavaca. Perhaps the greatest stability has been in agriculture. The tools and techniques have remained essentially the same. Corn and beans are still the major crops. The agricultural economy is still primarily a subsistence economy. Tepoztlán has managed to hold its communal lands throughout this period, primarily because these lands are poor and undesirable to the near-by haciendas. This has been a primary factor in stabilizing Tepoztecan economy, although on a subsistence level with a low standard of living.

The persistence of Náhuatl is also noteworthy and was probably related to the class character of the society. It was primarily *caciques*, merchants, and artisans,

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a temporary clinic to last only for the duration of the assignment of the doctor provided by the Department of Health and Welfare. Later, however, at the suggestion of the Department, we decided to establish the clinic as a village cooperative. The cooperative form of organization was being encouraged by the federal government at that time, on the assumption that it was in accord with native tradition. We also believed that a cooperative would be more useful in that the doctor might be kept on by the village itself long after we had left and the doctor's original assignment expired. Moreover, we viewed this enterprise as an experiment in setting up a democratic institution in a village in which the tradition of democracy was practically absent, and as a test of the readiness and ability of the Tepoztecans for such an organization.

The plan for the cooperative was fully explained to the local authorities in Tepoztlán, especially to the mayor of the municipality, and it seemed to meet with his interest and approval. When a doctor was finally obtained from the Department of Health and Welfare, the mayor was asked to call a meeting of the entire community to introduce the doctor and to discuss plans for the cooperative. He promised to call such a meeting but never did. The members of our mission thereupon visited many of the families in each barrio, and a meeting of the villagers was arranged. A Tepoztecan band was hired to create a fiesta atmosphere, for we had already learned that practically the only occasion that will bring Tepoztecans together is a fiesta. More than 160 Tepoztecans attended the meeting. This was a good turnout for the village, considering their general lack of confidence. The organization of the cooperative was discussed, and many Tepoztecans participated in the discussion.

It was decided to charge a membership fee of one peso, and 25 centavos a month thereafter. In addition, members were to pay one peso to consult the doctor, and this would include free medicines. The money collected was to form a fund for the purchase of medicines and other supplies and for paying the rent of the doctor's office. The ultimate objective was for the cooperative to be self-supporting, even to the extent of paying for a doctor if it had to. It was hoped that the six-month period for which the doctor was assigned by the Department of Health and Welfare

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177 743 474 would give the cooperative the opportunity to accumulate the necessary funds to carry on independently.

It was believed by the staff and borne out by the consensus of 177 743 474 the first meeting that the barrio provided the most logical basis upon which a cooperative organization could be built because it was the primary cooperative unit in the social organization of the village. As already indicated, each barrio has its own patron saint, 621 its chapel, its own festivals, and a plot of land which is communally worked by the men of the barrio to provide for the upkeep [476] of the chapel. Fiestas were traditionally organized on a barrio basis, and in recent years participation in sports events has been on a similar basis. Thus, the few cooperative activities in the vil- [794] lage were barrio activities. Furthermore, the barrio chose its own [631] ceremonial officials in a fairly democratic fashion, whereas the village officials, though nominally elected, were in practice chosen by the governor of the state of Morelos. In organizing the cooperative on a barrio basis, we were therefore attempting to tie it to a geographical and social unit which still retained some of its indigenous cooperative traditions.

At the mass meeting a central village committee of seven members was elected, one from each barrio, and provisions were made for the election of barrio committees consisting of three persons each. These local committees were to be charged with recruiting members in their barrios and with popularizing the cooperative. The meeting ended on a hopeful note, and the central committee promised to get right to work organizing the barrio committees. But at the first scheduled meeting of the central committee, only three members appeared, and this was symptomatic of what was to follow. After three weeks, only three of the seven barrio committees had been organized.

177 743 759 [474] In the meantime, the doctor furnished by the Department of Health and Welfare arrived in Tepoztlán. A room in a house on the central plaza was obtained as an office. Essential equipment and medicines were purchased out of the first funds collected by the cooperative. Although no nurse was available, the social worker attached to the community research project assumed some of the nursing duties and accompanied the doctor on home visits. In addition to his clinic duties, the doctor worked in a research

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capacity with another part of the program, but he remained on call at all times for clinical services. 177 743

In line with our intention that the clinic serve a research function in addition to its service activities, it was planned that in addition and prior to the usual physical examination of each patient, the doctor should also use forms that called for the following kinds of information: a textual account of the history and causes of the diseases from the patient's point of view; whether the patient visited the curandero; the diagnoses and therapy of the curandero; the fees paid, and so on. The doctor was expected to utilize this information wherever possible in establishing rapport with the patient. Furthermore, it was hoped that in this way it would be possible systematically to obtain important data on native concepts of disease and therapy, and by comparing the diagnosis of the patient and the curandero with that of the doctor, to understand better the rationale behind native concepts. [759] 177 743 125

Since funds from the cooperative came in slowly, the facilities of the clinic were never quite adequate. In addition, the first doctor furnished by the Department of Health and Welfare was a young, unmarried man whose previous experience was limited and had been confined to urban areas. Neither by training nor temperament was he particularly well fitted for the sensitive and demanding task of treating the people of a rural Mexican village. After a month, he was replaced by an older doctor with more experience. 177 743 759 [474]

However, our initial difficulties in getting a suitable physician and adequate equipment did not appear to trouble the prospective clients of the clinic. During the first week, as already indicated, the doctor had 11 patients, and subsequently the figure slowly increased to 35. Then quite suddenly, patients ceased to come altogether. For all intents and purposes, the clinic was through. 177 743

It would be tempting at this point to attribute the demise of the clinic to the inadequacies of its doctors and physical facilities and to look no further to find reasons for its downfall. But such an explanation would be partial at best. In the first place, the drop in attendance was abrupt and complete, not the gradual falling off one might expect to result from cumulative dissatisfactions.

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visit a doctor because of their conviction that doctors do not understand either the cause or the cure of such diseases.

Governed by their own interpretation of illness, people in the village approach modern doctors with distrust, realizing that they do not fully understand certain classes of illness, such as those due to evil humors or those related to the hot-cold distinction. It is, therefore, important for the doctor to become familiar with the native concepts and to utilize them as a psychological means of gaining confidence. The job of establishing rapport and gaining confidence under these conditions is no easy one. It demands a doctor who has the zeal and spirit of a missionary and some understanding of the relativity of cultural values.

Aside from factors of personality and of understanding local beliefs, the ability of a doctor to gain confidence and prestige depends upon his technical skill in making accurate diagnoses and effecting cures. While it is unfair to generalize about the quality of Mexican rural doctors as a whole, our impression from personal experience is that they are poorly trained and equipped and show little enthusiasm for work in the villages. Considering the conditions under which rural doctors must live and work in Mexico, it is probable that this phenomenon is more widespread. There is little incentive for the superior doctor to leave the city and go to rural areas. At best, few are willing to undergo the hardships of rural life with its isolation and lack of comforts and diversions; in addition, salaries are low, opportunities for advancement are few, and there is little permanency of assignment. As a result of these conditions, rural doctors are frequently recruited from those of inferior abilities and this in turn makes it more difficult to win over the Indian villager to modern medicine.

Local Organizational Patterns

Any attempt to revive or establish a "democratic" institution, such as a cooperative in a community that has lived for years under an authoritative system, must take cognizance of the profound effect of this conditioning to authority upon the psychology of the people. The lack of personal initiative and village spirit found in Tepoztlán may be attributed to this conditioning. Our experience made it clear that chances for success would have been

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better if we had operated according to current organizational practices. Had the doctors been brought in to set up a private clinic rather than a cooperative, there might have been less difficulty. Previous attempts to set up cooperatives in other activities had met with similar or more drastic difficulties. In 1930 Tepoztlán organized a Forestry Cooperative for the production and sale of charcoal. It lasted only a few years, for the village divided into hostile political factions. The officers of the cooperative were suspected of stealing funds, the president was murdered, and the cooperative dissolved. A more recent cooperative to run the bus line between Tepoztlán and Cuernavaca also is rent by dissension and violence.

The results in Tepoztlán lead to the conclusion that the introduction of modern medicine should not be attempted through the mechanism of cooperatives in regions where a long-standing cooperative tradition is lacking. The more general lesson is that programs, to be practical, are not to be devised according to an ideal organizational model, however much this model may appeal to program planners, but must take account of the organizational pattern familiar to the people of the particular community.

Entrenched Power

Those who enter a community to engage in an action program must recognize the implications of the fact that they are not entering a power vacuum. In every human community there exists a network of relations between individuals. It is to the interest of many of these individuals to maintain this system of relationships. Any group of outsiders moving into a community will be seen by some as potentially disruptive, even if they plan no action. If they do plan action, whatever positive measures they undertake, no matter how benign, will be perceived by some community members as a threat to their own status and interests.

It is tempting to attribute the antagonism of these people and their obstructive activities to the fact that they are wicked people, opposing common good because of selfish motives. Even if this were so, the frequency of such obstruction makes it reasonable to anticipate its occurrence and to be able to cope with it realistically.